2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXX

ON RAIN-MAKING AND THE HEAVENLY BODIES

One evening during a very dry, hot season, we heard a great and merry laughing and chattering going on in a garden we had near our home in Sapporo. Our servants were old-fashioned Ainu. We also had seven or eight others (sick ones) staying with us in a house we had built for such in our compound. 789

On going out to see what it was all about, for such a chattering and merry noise we had not heard for many a long day, we found that our woman servant had tied many pieces of variously coloured cloth about her dog and hung garlands of flowers and green sprays round its neck. She was leading the animal, thus decorated, about the garden, all the other folk following or standing about roaring with laughter. It was all so very comical that we ourselves could not but join in. Moreover, the dog was dragging after it a tin containing water which had been attached to it. I asked what it all meant and was told that they were trying to make it rain, as the garden crops were withering away for want of water. This was a peculiar instance embodying some idea of causation—one which I had not met with before in this form. Upon asking what the ceremony was called, I was told that it was a form of *shiriwen hokki*, i.e., bringing in wet weather. I was astonished and very much pleased to have seen it. As fortune would have it, there was a heavy downfall that very night, and in the eyes of all our Ainu friends who were present, this fact was a clear proof that their method was good and effectual, and much better than mere prayers for the precious rain, without personal

● 789 effort. They were very thankful and did not forget to point the rain out to me the next morning!

On questioning these and other people on the rain-making cult, I obtained the following information: "When the ancient people wished to make rain, they used to gather together in the chief's house and pray [776] to the Household God, his wife the Fire, and the Goddesses of the Rivers and Springs. The man who officiated was called the *apto-ashte guru*, i.e. the "person who causes it to rain." Abundant libations of whisky were drunk and offered to the gods.

"That done, the Master of Ceremonies appointed certain men to head small companies and commanded them to execute particular functions. One man was told to take his company to the river's brink and there to see that each one washed his tobacco-box and pipe in the running water. Another was ordered to catch a small fish called *eshokka*, i.e., the "bull-head," light a pipe and place the stem in its mouth. The fish would then close its mouth, the result being that the act of drawing in the air caused the smoke to escape from the gills. After this had been done the fish was allowed to escape. Another party was commanded to take a porringer, fill it with water, set a sail in it and place oars in order, as though it were a boat, and then set it on the path. Then some were told to push behind and others to drag it along about the village and gardens. Others would take sieves and scatter water about with them, while some would actually set sieves up on poles and challenge the gods to rain hard and fill them! Men, women and children all took part in this and they were filled with glee and mirth meanwhile. If this ceremony were properly carried out, it was bound to bring an abundance of rain. So said the Ancient Ones."

[829] I am afraid that some of the above lore shows the Ainu to have been very familiar with their gods, and at times not over respectful to them. Often have I heard them scolding them roundly, if they have been

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. 789 [829]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778]

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow." [782]

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

A
789 I am quite sure the people believed in these things as a rule, and often attempted to influence the gods of nature in the weather by such means.

To take a further example which happened to myself: on a very cold day (namely November 24, 1900), I went into a hut and saw some convolvulus roots split and placed near the fire upon the hearth. Upon asking the reason of this, I found that it was to bring warm and fine weather, because the master of the hut and I had been out that day on a somewhat long comfortless ride. I was told that the heating of the roots would keep our feet warm. It was very kind of the mistress and we both said "thank you" for it, had our supper, and retired to rest, tired yet happy.

J
789 So much for the Ainu ways of rain-making. Apropos of this, however, I have met with two Japanese methods indulged in by the Japanese who were dwelling among the Ainu 40 years ago. It took place at Usu in Volcano Bay. There was a rain famine in these quarters one year, and it was so hot that the gardens were in a very bad condition. If rain did not fall very soon all crops must fail. In order to influence the gods and make them send the precious rain very soon indeed, the people congregated about the village and sang this song: *"Amefuri tamayo; ōkina kumo wo sasaete, cha-cha futte koe."* Roughly translated, this means: "O drops of rain; come in a great cloud and drip-drip." This was repeated time and again throughout the day amid much merriment and dancing.

The other remarkable incident—an incident which caused me to wonder still more was this. The Japanese people of the village congregated at the temple and brought out the image of Jizō Sama. They put it in the baking sun, danced before it and shouted and sang. After a time they poured water over it and sprinkled some about the land as well. This, I was told, was to bring rain. All these things remind one of shaking

CHAPTER XXXI

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

The Ainu are a very superstitious race, and the 771 people, one and all, have strong faith in witchcraft. There can be no mistake about that. The word used to designate witchcraft in their language is *ishirishina*, and this means "bind up fast," "tie up tightly." It indicates a tying up of the spirit, soul, mind or life of a person with a view to evil and keeping it fast bound by a curse till the desired object is attained. It includes hypnotism as one of its processes. But, as such occult matters are always difficult to explain, I will allow an Ainu, who was himself once supposed to be subjected to witchcraft, to give his own account, while I merely act as his interpreter and translator.

Said he: "As I was lying ill in my bed, a *shaman* 754 one day came to me, wishing to perform certain ceremonies in order to do away with my malady. But, as I did not believe in him, I would have nothing to do with him. Now, my clothes had been cut with a pair of scissors; but, as I supposed it had been done by some mischievous child, I took no notice of it.*

"Then the shaman said to me, 'Why do you allow this matter of a cut garment to abide? You ought surely to do something about it.' I simply replied, 'Ah, why?' for I did not wish to have anything to do with him. Then he told me that it was the wife of my elder brother who had done the cutting secretly. And

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*To cut holes in another person's garments is supposed to be one way of shortening his life. It is a branch of sympathetic magic. [789]

757 I am worse. It would be best to change the doctor, for
753 I want to get back to my village soon." He also said
that it was not bitter enough to frighten any demon, however small, out of him!

Another one came in and told me his physic was no good at all. It was far too sweet to expect it to drive the demons out. I went and told his doctor this, and got him to make the next bottle as nasty-tasting and ill-smelling as he possibly could. He did, and the man very soon got well and went home. That doctor was a good shaman, indeed, for he soon exorcised the demon. Both of these men enhanced the odour and flavour of the doctor's medicine by that filthy albatross decoction which they made themselves.

754 But the cutting of clothes was not the only way of practising witchcraft. One day, as Chief Penri and I were walking along a path in the forest, we came to a tree, to the stem of which a small image of a man had been nailed fast. The chief looked scared and I asked him what it was. He told me that someone had an enemy he or she wished to die soon, and this was the way in which a deed of murder was being secretly done. It was put there so that the object of the curse might see and know, for this would frighten him and make the working the more sure. He would expect to sicken and die. It was a clear case of sympathetic magic. One of the nails went through the region of the heart and the other through the head. The old man was certain the spell would work in time. "For," said he, "the demons are very quick to hear curse-prayers when said to them."

789 In the same way, too, as we were going down
754 a river in a dug-out boat we happened upon a very
tiny boat with the straw image of a man sitting in it, being, as it were, rowed by another straw image. This also, the chief told me, was a very evil way of practising sympathetic magic. This boat was supposed to float down the river to the mouth, and then drift

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in [787]
divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a
woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A GOD AND A MAN CONTEST IN MAGIC

The ancient Ainu appear to have been gifted with wonderful imaginations, which they used largely at times. The following piece of lore is a very good specimen thereof. We find that in this particular trial of magical power, neither the god nor the man treated his opponent with much respect, and that the god himself was exceedingly human and needed to be converted. The story is in the first person and it is the celestial being himself who actually tells it, even against himself. It is very interesting and, of course, contains its moral, which the listener is wisely left to draw for himself. 789

"I am a god—a god of the high heavens. A very large number of deities have their homes here. When the time came for me to marry, I looked about my dwelling place for a bride, but I could not find even one among the daughters of heaven beautiful enough or of sufficient goodness for me to wed. They were all unfit to mate with me. Now I one day heard that in the lower regions where men dwell, there was a very beautiful young woman who, although she had the face of a mere human being, would do well for me. She was the younger sister of a man called Shamai. Her I made up my mind to wed. 773 776 789

"Having thus settled in my mind to take her to wife, I went down to the lower regions and marched up to the home of Shamai and his lovely sister. Outside the house there were many poles set up horizontally, over

773 which pairs of salmon were hung for winter food.*
776 But neither Shamai nor his sister was at home. They
● 789 had gone away among the mountains to hunt bears.
[251] So I entered the house and sat down to think. This is what I thought: 'Shamai is but a mere man and must, of course, be far inferior to me in magical power. I will turn myself into a salmon and try him.' So I went out to the poles where the fish were hanging to freeze. I took a pair of very fine ones off a pole and threw one of them away. Then I turned myself into a salmon just like the one I had cast off, only perhaps a little better, and joining myself to the remaining one by my tail, hung myself up with it and waited.

"After some little time had elapsed, Shamai and his beautiful sister returned, each bearing a great load of fat bear's flesh. This they brought and laid down outside the house. The young lady soon hastened in by the door, while her brother stayed at the east end window** and handed the meat in to her through it.

"Shamai and his beautiful younger sister were very tired indeed after their hunting, so they sat down quickly and made up the fire. Presently the brother said, 'We have eaten nothing but bear's meat of late, and I am getting tired of it. How would it be to bring in a salmon for supper?' The sister then came to where I was hanging on the pole and, after carefully looking about for the very best fish, selected me. She then took me down and carried me into the house. Seeing me, the brother said, 'This fish is a very fine one and is frozen very hard and will be chilly eating. Let us thaw it.' So the young lady tied a string to my

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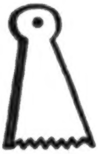
*Salmon were thus hung up by the people outside their homes to freeze for their winter food. Dogs also were fed on them.

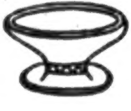
**I have already stated elsewhere that the east-end window and the region by it is held sacred. It is as sacred to the Ainu as the chancel end of churches to many Christians. It is the place of light, and all game and precious things are sent into the huts by way of this window.

tail and hung me upside-down, suspended from the pot- 773
hook over the fire. And I found it very warm there. 776

"After a little, Shamai said, 'Come, I'm very hun- 789
gry, and the salmon is thick and frozen clean through. Put on more wood and cook it quickly.' So the sister went out and brought in a big armful of wood, which she threw on the hearth, and made a great roaring fire under me. My poor head began to get very hot and then burn. So fierce was the fire that I went crack, snap, phiz all up my back. My fat spluttered and flew out. My soul withdrew right up into my tail and it seemed as if I must soon be quite burnt up. In haste, then, I slipped out through the end of my tail, broke the eastern end of the house roof, and with a mighty shout, making the world echo and echo and echo again with my roar, returned to my own celestial dwelling-place.*



A HEARTH-RAKE



AN EATING-BOWL

"I was very angry at this and said within my heart, 'That thing of a Shamai is a creature of the miserable earth; he was born a despicable Ainu. As for me, I'm a mighty god. I really thought that that beast of a Shamai, having been born a contemptible man of the earth, would be far inferior to me in the powers of magic. But he has beaten me this time; and I won't stand it.' I was exceedingly angry and determined to go for him again.

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*The mere man got the better of the celestial being, who was sent off badly discomfited. Thus the man won the first magical contest.

773' "So when the time came, I once more descended
776 from my heavenly home and went to Shamai's house.
●789 But he and his sister were again out in the mountains, hunting bears together. Well, I arrived at their empty house. I entered and took Shamai's very own personal eating bowl down from the shelf and examined it. Presently I hid it carefully away and transformed myself into another exactly like it and set myself in its place upon the shelf. And so I sat and waited. Presently I heard their footsteps returning in the distance. On they came as before, the sister hastening in through the door and the brother going round to the east end window to hand in the meat. There were two very large bundles of it. They were both tired after their hunting and the walk home with such big loads, so they sat down and made a nice big fire. Presently Shamai said to his sister, 'Did you wash my eating bowl before we went out this morning?' 'No,' she answered. 'Well then,' he said, 'make some water scalding hot and give it a thorough washing.' So she rose and hung a big pot full of water over the fire. As soon as it was properly boiling, she took her brother's bowl down from the shelf. Then I thought, 'Well, if she puts me into that boiling water, I shall certainly be killed.' But she did so. She tossed me right in. I sunk a little way down and then slipped out as quick as lightning and rose up from the water. Through the west end of the roof of the hut I escaped with a mighty crack and went up to my celestial home with a tremendous bellowing sound. Aye, it was a narrow escape!

"I came to my house and entered in. I sat down in wrath and thought thus, 'I imagined that Shamai, being but a poor worm of a man, was greatly inferior to me in magic, as I am a god of heaven. But I have again found him my better.' Oh, how angry I was! Now I made up my mind to have no more jesting, but go for him in earnest. I would pay him a visit openly

and appear in my celestial body. So I dressed in my 773
heavenly raiment and went down. I came to Shamai's 776
house and stood before the door, but, being still full 789
of wrath, I could not bring myself to enter as a guest.
So there I stood and waited.

"Soon after, Shamai's beautiful sister came out to me and said, 'If you do not like to enter our home and stay as an honoured guest, being angry, I will not ask you to come in. But look over yonder. See! Look at that beautiful house of mine; it is made of silver. Do you see it? Go in there and sit down. You may stay there.' So I entered the pretty little silver house, it being now nearly dark, and sat down. And there I stayed. Anger was still rankling in my breast. To myself I said, 'I am a great god, but that mean Shamai is but a man, low-born and in every way earthly and contemptible. Yet he has beaten me in magic.' Thus I sat there in anger thinking as to how I might meet him.*

"I seemed to wake up as from a dream, and when I came quite to myself, I found that I was sitting in a filthy malodorous cesspool just outside the house. It was covered in and I really had thought that it was the lady's beautiful bower, but that lady had sent me right into that muck and my beautiful garments were in a filthy condition and the smell was shocking. Although I am a mighty god, yet that mere man, Shamai, and his cunning sister were my superiors in the art of magic. I then became convinced that I could never hope to overcome them. And I was filled with wrath.

"As soon as I got my senses quite back, I went up through the roof of the little house with a mighty crack and roar; and with the very heavens ringing with my cry. I came to my celestial home. I at once washed

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*As the sequel will show, the beautiful young woman spurns him and, in fact, hypnotises him. He is no match for either the brother or sister.

775 myself and my garments and then entered my house.
776 Here I sat and brooded and was extremely angry. My
781 divine brothers soon came home, and when they had
entered and rested a little, one of them said, "When we came through the yard outside we encountered a very bad smell. It was most horrible. Whatever could it have been? It was not at all a heavenly odour. Where did it come from and what was it?" But being very much ashamed of myself, I kept quite silent. A few days after, as I was sitting alone by the hearth, my elder brother came in and scolded me roundly for what I had done. Said he, 'You are a great fool. Why did you go to vie with Shamai and his sister in magic? Have you never heard that from times of old these have been far more powerful than any of the gods? Human though they be, yet they have the essence of the gods. You are a prince of fools.'" The translator feels that to comment on this very wonderful and dramatic story would be to spoil it.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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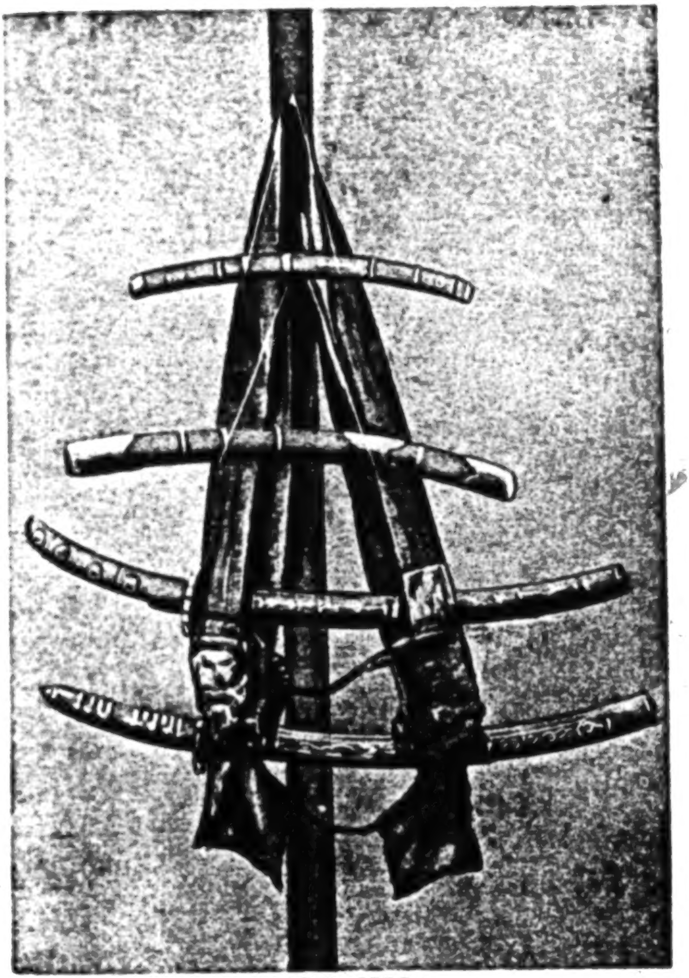

OLD SWORDS

[P. 336 (A)]

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

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*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all 539
lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the 825
mistress placed herself by my side. I listened carefully 789
all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen.

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

538 then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the
825 tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought
789 and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of men waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

CHAPTER LV

ANOTHER FOX STORY

Pau, Pau, Pau sounded a voice not far from the hut 539
in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We 825
were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come.

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks
along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take [754]
the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening.

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, [754
I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain 789]
gentleman who resided not far away was famous

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into
the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit
789 to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipe-holder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like serving-men. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife 539
also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight 825
I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her 754
soul, with which I quickly made off. 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her
well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I
could not bring myself to leave the house. But very
soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman
had returned to his home. As he was drawing near
to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the road-
side in a decomposing condition. He was greatly af- [756]
fected and sent for six male shamans who were bro-
thers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near.
When they arrived, the males performed the shaman
rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me
for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest
one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw
that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught
up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made
many mountains to spring up as a screen between us,
so that he did not see me.

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
●789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet.
Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

123 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese policeman
609 brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn.
Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them
123 609 why they had assaulted me.

531 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down,
[789] and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once
you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life
[752] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your
parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had
[731] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the
country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we
[805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared
from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as
123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat
516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together,
516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each
609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The
Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back
123 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. 778
Then some are held as charms against misfortune and
disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to
the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good
water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao*
of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built
huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied
together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings;
they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like
the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on 778
certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born 844
an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds 789
folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the
bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down
to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal
portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed
through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the
arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so
that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind
of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be
averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new 778
inao are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea 789
that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the 755
sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for
his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the [753
individual whose body they think has been taken possession
of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits. 777]

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent
horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a 789
horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within 778
are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness. 171

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

789 visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and
778 children almost invariably carry charms round their necks,
171 that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

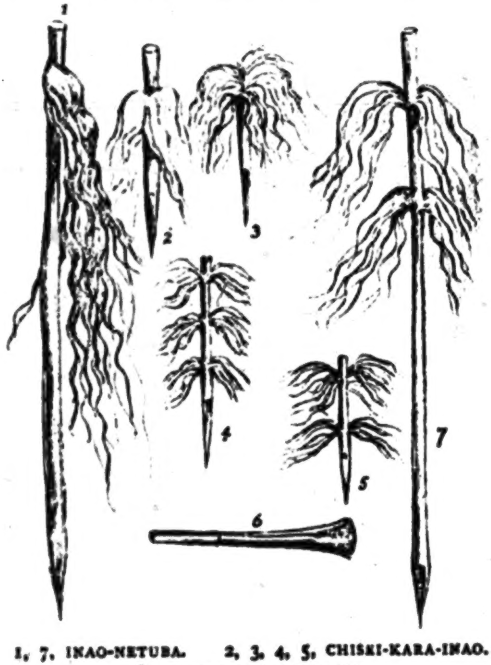
778 If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find
789 that they differ very little either in form or substance. In
171 place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the
[illegible] Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao;* and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao.* Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao.*

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

771 We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly
171 different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. 855 They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.

798
● 789



1, 7. INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5, CHISKI-KARA-INAO.
6, A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu AB6

778 Ainu tells this deity[1] The his wants, and he will convey them to the
124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
776 all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul,* that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi,* denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru,* "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

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[463]
[554]
[1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of 778
the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in 789
moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in 778
the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common
in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that [774]
the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers [824]
blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just 778
this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). 196
Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the 174
Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself.
It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is [193]
very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to
serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
●789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to
be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another
step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea,
are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that 614
the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually 621
as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a [622]
kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a
village and at the same time maintained the order of the village."
This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village
leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head
of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific
duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may
have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great author- [622]
ity. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally
within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's
treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis 614
of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), 769
we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these
rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or
a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters,
officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's
sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matri-
lineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these
occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other
male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers,
and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors
through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so [776]
that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time.
All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patri-
lineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different
matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature 614
Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was 778
never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief 293
was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matri-
lineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and
differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The
belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal
group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman
without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt some- [425]
times received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal
descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a
woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of
the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the
type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use
of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness 428
and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to 868
recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by 789
424

428 women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather 868 than learned.

789 (3) "*Woman's treasure.*" Woman's treasure was passed from 424 mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the [614] eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. 582 Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it in- 614 volved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

614 (5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at [764] funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in 462 the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in 844 the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While 614 it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving [852] to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

614 (6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. 769 At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. [775] It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro
292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because
114 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able
● 789 to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934
[611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese*
[582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru
115 River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

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771

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* 774
(without soul). [828]

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the [776]
reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom.
I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*. [822]

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not 771
only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent 776
spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*piriha*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts.
As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They [115]
have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by
strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of [753]
smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by
magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were [789]
usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt
was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with [782]
and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious 756
than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never
perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination [787]
(*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery [789]
was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for
protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were [754]
ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil
powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He
carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to
protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the 771
Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled
and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that 776
in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped [782]
the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed
against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered
in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon
worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I
have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe
that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and
what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for
repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

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sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate
with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme
over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to
[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed
down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the
arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north
[782] an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline
[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as
is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the
sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still
salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered
necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at
the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or
[796] star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the
spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am
told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few
names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River
Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.
Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas
[778] of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and some-
times of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north
or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising
some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly
bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'
(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they
lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the
Ancestral Host.

● [789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward
happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic
ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought
to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must
776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that
oina refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a
teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding
that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted
as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit 776
chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection 825
with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests,
have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but
it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually
accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is
identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others
is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is some- [782]
times addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him [789]
he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward
off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake
form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be 776
besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro 782
Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the
consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various
diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then
addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes 776
are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be 825
rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, [774]
and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious [787]
possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui
himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut [782]
Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* be-
cause the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The [778]
millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes
breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed,
and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the
reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief
in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not [842]
found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing
graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the
hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

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[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. [552]

776 [782]

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui.

[782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair.

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

[514]

[789] ●

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose.

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

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The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats.

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

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[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

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778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
[775] accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns
[774] to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-*
● 789 *kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell,
and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

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[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

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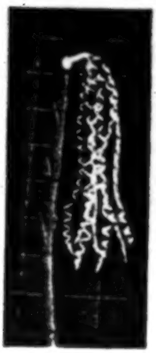
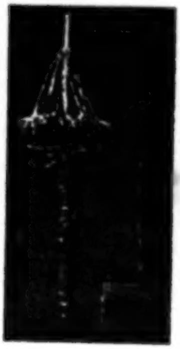
[789]

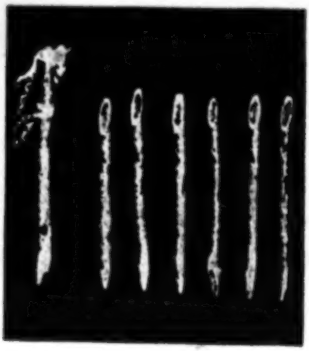


Fig. 1. *Shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *nusa inau* with their leader.

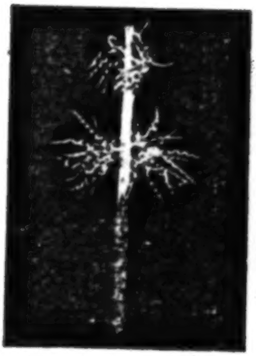
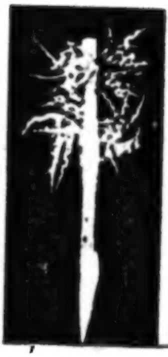
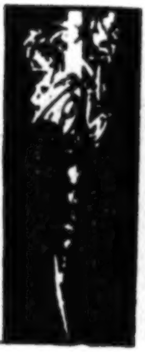
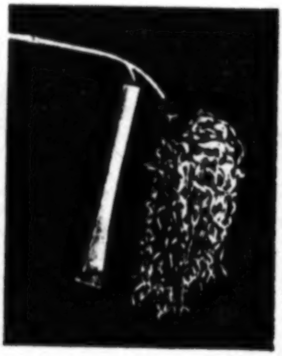





Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

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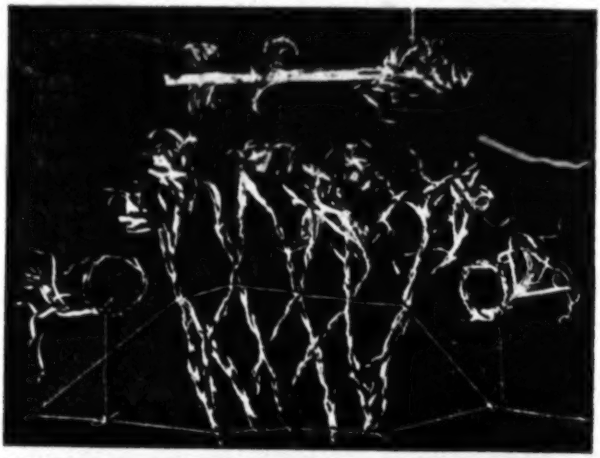

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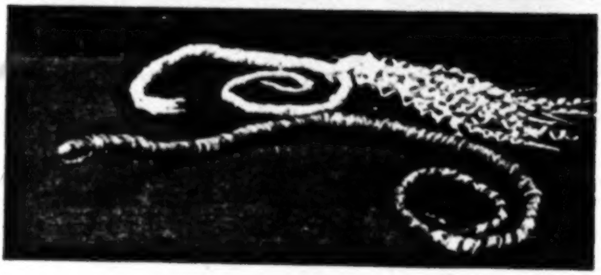

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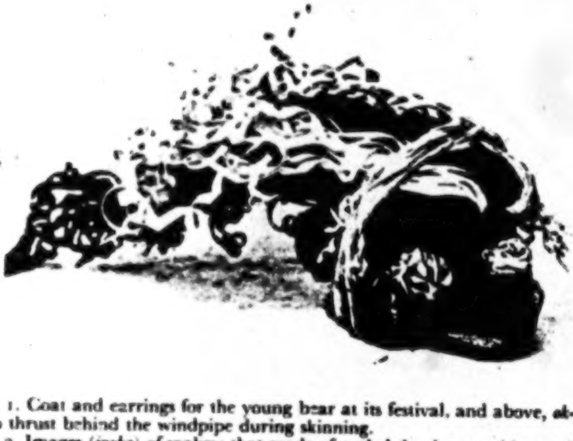

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ak-mene-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.

Fig. 2. Images (*inoka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.

Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (ii)]

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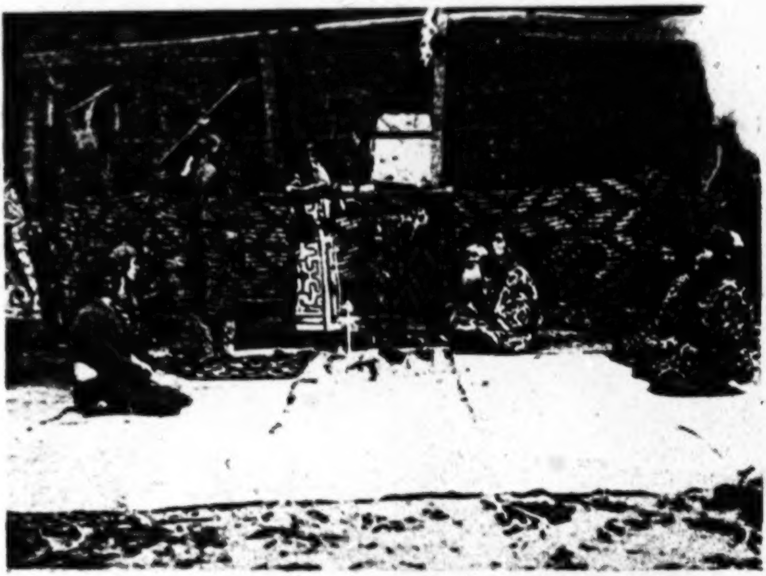

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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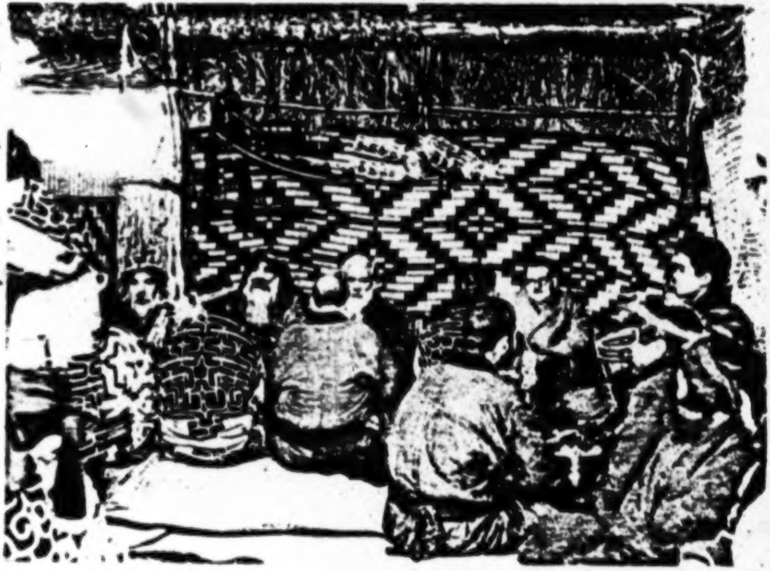

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

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782 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
776 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
[825] in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[796] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
● 789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[791] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
[801] has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-
824 bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village
171 somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

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given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the 778 ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges [789] of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us [171] too far afield.

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, [824] figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin.

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa- 778 koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to 782 Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During [783] ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui [844] Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight.

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are [796] inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
(Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window
[342] which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups
of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[782] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
● [789] friend Rennuikash put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184
182 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the
backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the
bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven
inau, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out
spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the
eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales
and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called
shian (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be
heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and
then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the
answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one
south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits
might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei
noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is
doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

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[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook 778
(*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 789
When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a [796]
festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden
pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*)
the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might [796]
attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a [301]
coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations in- [396]
volving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the
same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are
regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing [301]
the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult
labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms [755]
the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. [845]
It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under [844]
the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was ad-
ministering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged
parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to [513]
retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during
sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled [774]
shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of
grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled [411]
shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put
on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first
wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state
it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to [278]
women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide [762]
by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the [776]
spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted [787]
device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation
wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round [825]
the victim's head. [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said 778
about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, 532
there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani 212
neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised
on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual [796]
dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male [776]

IV

EFFIGIES

778 IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,
[774] by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concen-
[789] trated form, which are regarded as affording protection against
[782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and
messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit.
[755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness
was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased
[182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their
communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its
methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*
776 to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts
532 dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under
the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with
[774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of
the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the
winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as
effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-*
532 *ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
● [789] the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
532 or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

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[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the
[796] bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

776 778 755 532 [782] this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, [757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not ● [789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 778 322 532 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been 778
used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He 776
honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so 123
frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would 532
save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom 778
made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching 776
pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* 789
on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up.
These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. 782
They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made [184]
of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before
taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the [824]
head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and 778
is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth,
good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, 532
it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a 778
place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received liba- 823
tions of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially
sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though [782]
the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei,* but as we 342
have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the 346
Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much [192]
as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest
thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This [622]
was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on
great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this [796]
district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for [231]
sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration
at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2]
Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when
crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety
special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule
every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred
to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, 351
already described, conferred protection and help on those who 342
served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed 778
to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of
this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure [789]
that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

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[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W. [796]

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I
[192] can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
● [789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

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[776] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a trigod frame over
[231] which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu 342
honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but
for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in [789]
the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering [776]
made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were [231]
attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where [782]
mischievous spirits might lurk. [778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house.
Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire- 342
bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 353
5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a 354
heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not
replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried.
The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's [587]
brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before [796]
its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many 415
kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and 523
sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices
(*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands.
At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet [796]
(*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in
Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-* [782]
ongami) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a
handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend [322]
Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations.
All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a
shintoko.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. 301
They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads 177
may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving
as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some pro- 789
tective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of 422
social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting [554]
the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards
the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits. [304]

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords 411
(*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords 177
are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the
tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries 353
such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were
allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly 523
Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we 422
might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the
latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both
classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly 353
bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei*
sembe or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice 523
might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far 422
enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the 177
treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu 342

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[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W. [428]

422
[353]

HEARTH AND HOME

[523] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they
[777] were knife-worked.

[342] The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects
that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and
422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true,
411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least
[531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu
and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings.
● [789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in
the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when
there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when
[755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for
disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with
great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they
and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached where-
with they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden
789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil.
Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value
[777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck
in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins.
This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner
could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious,
ikoro ikeu, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various
reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike
[773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends,
the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from
[532] *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of
sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*,
shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes
342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre-
[513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the
children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*),
[264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and
other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and
it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the
342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing
(*kembe*).

574 Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests 342
always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before 574
them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions
indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting
ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in 342
all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame 353
stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended 417
the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs
from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen
in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one [415]
(Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the [412]
other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has
a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame [322]
of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and [824]
then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively 412
as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned,
the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket 415
(*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important [845]
parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two
take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, [789] ●
in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is [755]
also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to
induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled [782]
shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted.
Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed
and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited
and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed 352
matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They
are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all
festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in
Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed [527]
before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this [789]
position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated
ramat is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general [774]
similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families.
For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate
XVI.

342

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be 796
allowed to die out. 354

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-
thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven [782]
inau; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk
Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set
up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the
protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may
be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore
just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the [782]
officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes
the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows [787]
a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there
is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in
this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water
overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must
be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a [177]
new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If,
therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no 342
alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the 789 ●
purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification 354
may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has 796
been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called [782]
Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and,
after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked
and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the
ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is
undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe.
One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch
of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch
of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future
sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions,
beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main
posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each
corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

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[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

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[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S. [114]

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M. [192]

342 273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an ● [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of [184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- ● [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* [782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately.
He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and
then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon
as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking
some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills
a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again
going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled
partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug
the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the
beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure
against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial
pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside.
The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so,
naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless
as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress
and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is
conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
[411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and
by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the
elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when
offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling
Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

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[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a
[789] carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the
elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara
(*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

764
[775]
[789]

[301]
[291]
[531]

[p. 78, (H)]

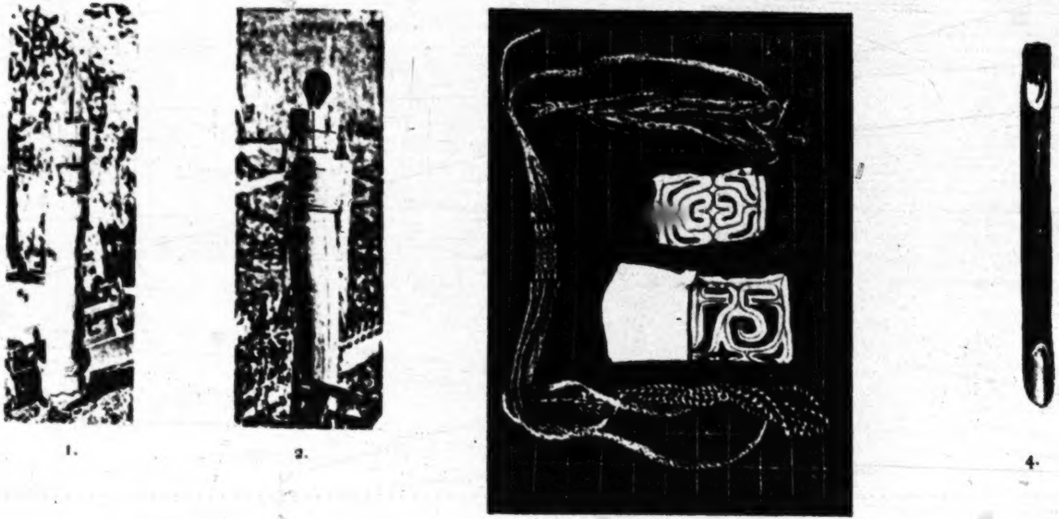

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

292
● 789

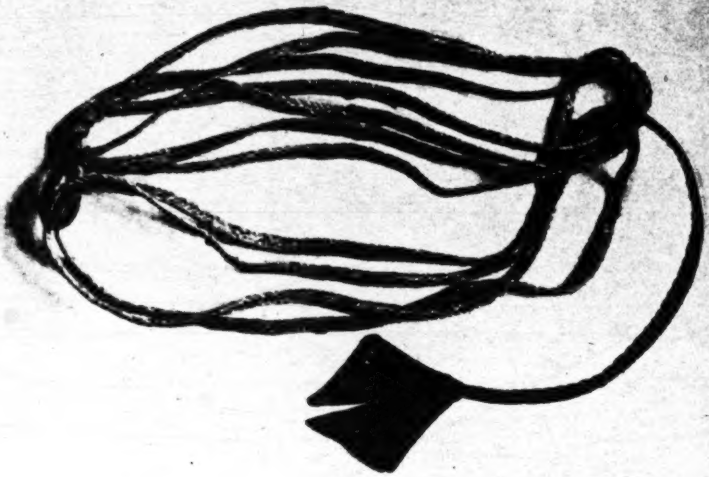

Fig. 1. *Upshoro Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

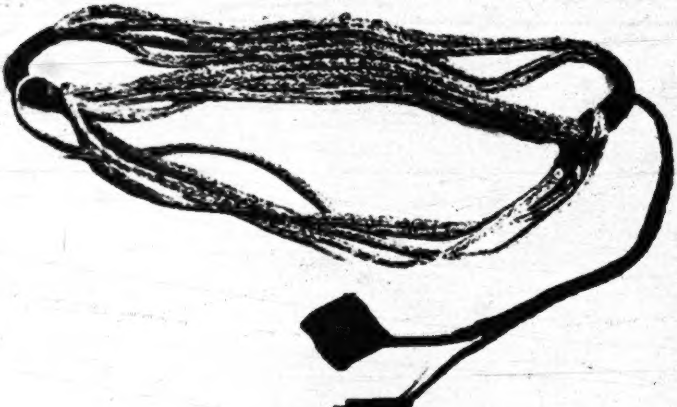

Fig. 2. *Upshoro Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L)]

782

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. 342
It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead
through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone 527
to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the [764]
same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with [823]
the setting sun. [775]

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the [769] ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. [778] He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A [273] young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

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lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, [533] the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it [729] was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M. [827]

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527
782
Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

[576]
[562]
[292]
[789]
We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

342

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity 527
of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true 782
Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, [292]
and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*). [789]

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in [582]
its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No 342
drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near 527
the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the 782
sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the 177
embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually 342
omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window 527
merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, 782
and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau*
fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on 273
the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are [769]
apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by [796]
Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been [115]
confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter 342
its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the
formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebra- 527
tions, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be 782
arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, 554
mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each
sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence— [516]
guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

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[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M. [177]

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great 574 ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, 769 which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the 776 *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. 574 Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable 769 stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of 776 the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question 782 whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once [178]

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[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukahik*) involves some transaction [787] with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually [562] address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M.

[789]

778

796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
● [789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating them ensures health and longevity.

(184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

[532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to
repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies.
In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of
the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-
religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers.
[789] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are
[822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu
rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*,
796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-
789 horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as
731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui*
are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot,
535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At
each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding
the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also
stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The
sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of
the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men
striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with
the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and
the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are
said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may
remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords.
Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the
niwen horipa is fading out in the north where the Ainu population
is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to
take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which
according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to
a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the
first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon
[115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my
best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later.
[114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded
from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less
learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and in-
vocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but
those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu
to whom I recited them.

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

● 789
224 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing
226 were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection
and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and
[782] the three other *'pase' kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui
and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing
[825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one
of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*,
often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter
invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*).
[774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust
in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them
temporarily.

411 The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody
789 considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a
774 libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a
224 means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under
[422] the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick
[211] was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally
stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to
the quiver.

825 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as
782 distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide
224 meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to
save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

825

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set 224
up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid. [782]

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter
to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. 825
When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appear- 224
ance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder 789
pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. 198
Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency,
was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line [611]
and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To
utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain [688]
to be followed by condign punishment.

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh 776
sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian 224

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer
had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself [754]
against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses.
She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'.
Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the
hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game,
the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire,
craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from
hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity,
the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine
(*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
kamui maratto, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
796 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear
Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less
elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull
was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
192

Hunting the Swordfish

226

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and
not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it
early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry be-
[477] tween the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger,
for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword
through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the
crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other
hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
● 789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or 226
ikema) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the 782
prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the 789
chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or
cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not
called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness,
water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is
sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed [784]
while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case
an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal [192]
attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady'
(*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter
occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while
fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated
with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge [262]
fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and
thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When
Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck
into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak 396
openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in 789
choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving 782
home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the
hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would
ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and
Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by
setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a [778]
slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged
inau and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted
inau.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

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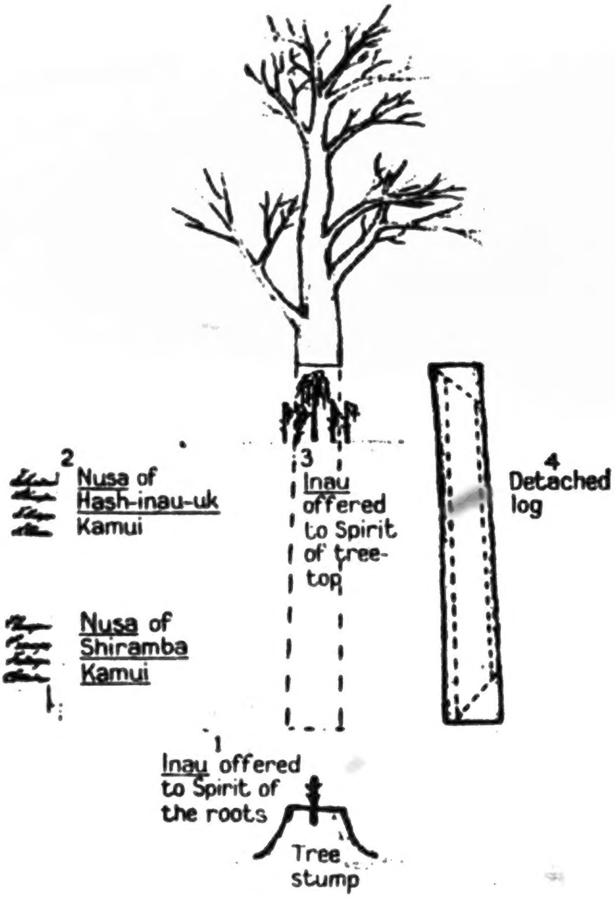
[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).


2
Nusa of
Hash-inau-uk
Kamui
Nusa of
Shiramba
Kamui
3
Inau
offered
to Spirit
of tree-
top
4
Detached
log
1
Inau offered
to Spirit of
the roots
Tree
stump

TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log 396
(*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready 782
to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush
Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of
curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern.
Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged [778]
inau were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer
is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of
water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu
claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming 534
sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a 789 ●
spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for
hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar [821]
object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to [224]
the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the
arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered
that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula
lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an
epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes
flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to
fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly [531]
circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that
would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the 825
ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of 789
a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the
shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were
to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical 304
rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil 789
influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

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[789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating
women who performed and underwent a long series of far from
painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an
essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process
at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it
gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of
18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later,
sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to
[836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual
relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo-
[881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood.
It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within
[773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use
was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural
being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also
mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen
from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or
sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces
[386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This
did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with
soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot
and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was
applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and
when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be
healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint
the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended
them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing
of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but
that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten
[622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either
[554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of
the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their
use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently
a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

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[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

Blood war

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom 304
was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the [757]
infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of
words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, [789]
times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a [841]
taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had [262]
to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days
and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least [784]
a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as [832]
emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great [517]
spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by [184]
general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow 278
poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of 776
which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery [192]

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[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a* [789] [783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 778

The Ritual of the Grave-post

[184] [532] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

DEATH AND BURIAL

765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.
783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again
cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to
the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the
[778] north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the
south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These
things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed
being then less likely to return.

● [789] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard,
[775] are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away
[776] *wen kamui.*

There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to
768 death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she
had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this
was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It
was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide
768 one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a
184 model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is
about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a
178 hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and
some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are
prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered
to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna
Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui
Kotan.

789 *Variants in Funeral Customs*

775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me
(Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one
end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an
opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the
grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards
the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to
the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an
[731] epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the
road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle
is placed behind it.

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it 128
I have brought together information contained in letters 127
written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the exist- 292
ence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the 789 ●
regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of [582]
his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of
Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme [123]
diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

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[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme [688]
caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the 789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as [195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ- [611] ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite [283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). [428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk- [869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's [182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

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[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: [804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. [428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small- 292 789 pox.[1]

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type [582] of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ich[illegible]giura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with 292 Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, 789 fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo 776 Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he [126] collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi peti- [782] tioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

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[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while [173] performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

292

● 789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any
information indicating whether one deity was associated with more
than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no
woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near
[688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman
were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
789 the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to
Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum
(Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[582] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or in-
[887] vestigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that
the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in
existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

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33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This 114
has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or 614
totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or 174
from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered
by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by
males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal
Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female
matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the
Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence;
there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some [613]
ekashi could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for
as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of 611
kut exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent [613]
(*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship. [61]
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral 597
offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be 292
of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is 789 ●
available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed.
The change is usually brought about by altering the number of 582
the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of
a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of
the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation 611
seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to [182]
matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was
due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

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[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing. [114]

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context. [114]

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not 611
clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it 614
by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence 684
occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty
was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If [692]
there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed [582]
to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man
seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable
to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro re- 611
corded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the 292
instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, 789 ●
are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established 587
   custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states
   that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed,
   but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that
   a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be [591]
   responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house [589]
   was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters hav- 595
   ing the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was per-
   mitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the [611]
   poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer [292]
   to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] [789]

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[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one
legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with
the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small
wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established [439]
trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where
they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

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582 292 789 611 [587] 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 [611] Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

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[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

/764 cont./

844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the
actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is
[845] only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the
fifth day after the first pains.

844 The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the
789 child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old
769 man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko
instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The
Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the be-
[842] yond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same con-
[775] ditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother
takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its
umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino!
vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people,
how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child
to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has
weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who
[864] know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is
unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new
brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many
778 cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the
782 woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little
789 stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little
stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the
[776] gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among
all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and
she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The
men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below
[755] the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is
called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

/765 cont./
844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front
of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the
occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer
has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of
her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but
not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does
it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also
highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with
a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she
answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is
true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it
never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of
the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent
business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any
circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as
early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course,
if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there
is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

/771/

845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing
their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended
from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in
the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so
[124] strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind
of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only
such people who were in no wise related to their families or
who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill
one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradi-
tion on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained
[777] alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were
favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is
[177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact
later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained,
for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese,
only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy.
The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average
member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a
[171] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

/771 cont./

845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika
I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence
of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the
same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear
that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others.
In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as
household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being
not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for
instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with
many children. She will use these constantly and she will
probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good
remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists
of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific
woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread
belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with
her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who
has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another
remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her
knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble
a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order
to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general
view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood
which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood
they will have a child born to them in the first or second year
of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

/773 cont./

841 After childbirth Ainu usually have no menses for a long
846 time since for an extended period they nurse their children
[853] themselves. But if /774/ a woman is not moderate in her sexual
[833] relations she will have menses after five months even if she
nurses her child herself.

841 During menstruation Ainu women wear woven aprons which
292 they buy either from the Japanese or the Russians. In former
[439] years they used aprons of seal-skin for this purpose. These aprons are tied round the nude body, not in front, but in the back. In sitting position the blood drips onto the apron and thus protects the clothing from spots. Sometimes it happens that the blood drips onto the floor of the yurt or of the yard when the woman walks about, since Ainu women do not wear any kind of pants. I myself have repeatedly seen such stains, although the women seek to avoid as much as possible such an occurrence which they consider indecent.

841 Here one can see again the great difference between the
777 Ainu and the Gilyak in the relation of the family to women,
789 which I indicated earlier in describing childbirth among these tribes. The Ainu consider it harmless to look at the blood of a woman or even to tread on a blood spot. In fact the blood of menstruation is even considered a good talisman. If someone sees a drop of blood on the floor he should wipe it off with his finger and smear his chest with it. It is an excellent expedient that can help everyone to wealth since it exercises a favorable influence in financial matters. The blood of the woman on the chest of the man becomes a talisman which brings it about that all those who deal with him in financial affairs have to give in to him, so that he derives great advantage from it. Whoever should get to see an apron used during menstruation, which actually can happen only very rarely, since the woman carefully hide these aprons from the eyes of all, but especially of the men, should ask its owner to give him a small piece of it. This he should always carry with him since it is considered a powerful talisman in the struggle of existence.

/774 cont./

841 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always
224 have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as
777 a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub
789 the sick spot with it.
755 All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are
562 still strong traces of the times when the woman played the
principal part in the life of the family and of the man.